

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 01854 301627Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----010278 301630Z /41

O R 301540Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5996
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1854

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: RHODESIA: SETTLEMENT SCHEDULE

REF: LONDON 10766 AND 19780

1. THERE IS MUCH IN REFTELS WITH WHICH WE AGREE. HOWEVER, OUR OWN PROJECTION OF THE NEXT MONTH'S SCHEDULE DIFFERS SLIGHTLY FROM THAT OF LONDON AND WE HAVE SOME SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO PROPOSE.

2. WE ARE IN STRONG AGREEMENT WITH THE POINT MADE IN BOTH MESSAGES THAT THE OWEN SCHEDULE WILL HAVE TO ALLOW TIME FOR CONSULTATIONS NOT ONLY WITH THE U.S. BUT WITH SOUTH AFRICANS AND NIGERIANS, THE FRONTLINE, AND PARTICULARLY WITH THE NATIONALISTS. OWEN APPEARS TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS BUT IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT HE HAS FOCUSED MORE ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH AND THE NEED TO GET HIS APPROVAL THAN HE HAS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF BRINGING THE NATIONALISTS AND FRONTLINE ALONG DURING THE COURSE OF THIS DISCUSSION. FAILURE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 01854 301627Z

TO DO SO RUNS THE RISK OF CREATING THE SAME KIND OF SITUATION WE HAD IN GENEVA. EVEN IF SMITH AGREED TO THE PROPOSAL, THE NATIONALISTS POSITION WOULD STILL BE RESERVED AND THEY WOULD BE FREE TO CHIP AWAY AT AN UNDERSTANDING WHICH SMITH MIGHT BELIEVE IS AS FIRM AS THE KISSINGER FIVE POINTS.

3. AS WE SEE IT, THE PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR THE NEXT FEW WEEKS

WOULD LOOK SOMETHING AS FOLLOWS:

---CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETS WITH NKOMO, MUGABE AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN LUSAKA JULY 6-7; TRAVELS TO SALISBURY FOR MEETINGS DURING REMAINDER OF WEEK THERE.

--AT THAT STAGE, GRAHAM WISHES TO RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO LONDON TO PUT TOGETHER FINAL SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS.

--PROPOSALS DRAFTED AND APPROVED IN THE UK AND PERHAPS REVIEWED IN THE U.S.

--OWEN WOULD THEN REVIEW THESE PROPOSALS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, PRESENT THEM TO THE RHODESIANS, AND DISCUSS THEM WITH FRONTLINE LEADERS, THE PF AND OTHER NATIONALISTS. HE WOULD NOT AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, SEEK A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE (IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BRITISH ARE NOT EXPECTING TO REACH A SETTLEMENT AT THE END OF JULY AS SUGGESTED LONDON TEL). OWEN WOULD LEAVE A BRITISH OFFICE ESTABLISHED IN SALISBURY TO CONTINUE CONTACTS WITH THE RHODESIANS. HE WOULD ALSO ASK THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO URGE RHODESIAN ACCEPTANCE DURING A PERIOD OF REFLECTION.

--THE FINAL REPLY FROM THE RHODESIANS WOULD BE EXPECTED IN LATE AUGUST OR EARLY SEPTEMBER. IT MIGHT BE RECEIVED BY OWEN IN ANOTHER TRIP OR BY THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP, OR SIMPLY ANNOUNCED IN A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY SMITH.

4. WHILE WE AGREE WITH LONDON THAT THE NEXT ROUND OF THE CG IS NOT LIKELY TO EMERGE WITH MORE THAN A FEELING FOR THE SHAPE WHICH THE ULTIMATE PACKAGE SHOULD TAKE, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US WHAT A THIRD ROUND MIGHT ACCOMPLISH AND WE ARE INCLINED TO AGREE WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 01854 301627Z

THE BRITISH THAT THE NEXT STEP SHOULD BE A TRIP BY OWEN TO PRESENT A SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL.

5. HOWEVER, IN OUR VIEW, LONDON IS CORRECT THAT THERE IS NOT ENOUGH TIME BEING ALLOWED FOR EACH OF THESE STEPS. SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD HAVE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS:

--THE NEXT ROUND VISIT TO SALISBURY BY THE CG SHOULD WAIT FOR PROPOSALS BY THE PF AND THEN PROCEED TO SALISBURY. IT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, BE RUSHED OR LIMITED TO A ONE-AND-A-HALF DAY VISIT SIMPLY IN ORDER FOR GRAHAM TO GET BACK TO LONDON BY THE 10TH, AS OWEN APPARENTLY DESIRES. BEYOND THIS, WE BELIEVE THE GROUP SHOULD NOT RETURN DIRECTLY TO LONDON BUT RATHER GO BACK TO LUSAKA FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE PF BEFORE RETURNING TO LONDON. THESE DISCUSSIONS COULD BEGIN THE 11TH OR 12TH AND THE RETURN TO LONDON FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY.

--WE FURTHER BELIEVE THAT IN MAKING HIS PRESENTATION OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL, OWEN SHOULD PLAN TO DISCUSS IT WITH THE PF IN LUSAKA, DAR OR MAPUTO BEFORE PROCEEDING TO PRETORIA AND SALISBURY. HE MAY ALSO WISH TO STOP IN THE OTHER TWO OF THE ABOVE FRONTLINE CAPITALS, BUT SHOULD DEFINITELY PLAN TO VISIT THOSE TWO DURING THE COURSE OF HIS TRIP. AGAIN HE SHOULD PROBABLY PASS ON TO THE PF THE INITIAL RHODESIAN REACTIONS AFTER SALISBURY.

PRESUMABLY HE COULD SEE SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA INSIDE RHODESIA. IF NOT, HE SHOULD MEET WITH THEM AT A FRONTLINE CAPITAL.

6. AS WE PROJECT THE PROCESS, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT SMITH WILL AGAIN AGREE TO A WESTERN PROPOSAL BEFORE HE IS CERTAIN THAT IT WILL RECEIVE NATIONALIST AND FRONTLINE APPROVAL. EQUALLY, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT NKOMO WILL GIVE OWEN AN DEFINITIVE APPROVAL OF THE PAI HG RD 8 04909 8,&. THE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS THEN ARE MORE LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE AFTER THE PROPOSAL HAS BEEN TABLED WHEN SOME MODIFICATIONS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY GOING TO HAVE TO BE MADE. IT IS AT THIS STAGE THAT THE CG MAY CONCEIVABLY CONSIDER A THIRD ROUND.

7. IN SUM, IT IS OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT WE SUPPORT OWEN'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 01854 301627Z

DESIRE TO PRESENT A SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL IN A VISIT TO AFRICA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE NEXT ROUND OF THE CG TALKS. HOWEVER, WE WOULD SUGGEST LENGTHENING BOTH THE SECOND ROUND OF THE CG AND OWEN'S OWN VISIT AS PROPOSED IN PARA 5 ABOVE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LUSAKA01854
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770234-0044
Format: TEL
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977063/aaaaaclx.tel
Line Count: 141
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e2776078-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 LONDON 10766
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2067007
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: SETTLEMENT SCHEDULE
TAGS: PDEV, RH, US, UK
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e2776078-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009